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# Slavery in Rebellion—An Outlaw.

## HOW TO DEAL WITH IT.

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It is not to be denied that, as a nation, we are justly chargeable with Atheism, Profanity, Sabbath-breaking, Insolence, Stubbornness, Impatience of Authority, Strife and Murder, Intemperance, Licentiousness and Fleshly Indulgence, Stealing, False Swearing, Lying, and Covetousness. There is not a law in the Decalogue which we have not broken.

But the eye of this nation—filled with light by the Word, Spirit and Providence of God—is singling out another and specific evil as most surely the seed-sin of the present distress.

With remarkable unanimity and strength of conviction, it feels that the blood and sufferings of the oppressed are now crying from the ground against us. "The children of 'Africa' have sighed by reason of their bondage, and their sighing is come up unto God." This distress is the result of His "having heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; of His knowing their sorrow, and of His coming down to deliver them." (Ex. ii: 3, and iii: 7, 8.) "The hire of the laborer has been kept back, and the cries of them which reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath." (Jas. v: 4, 1.) Meantime the national conscience is responding, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother." The nation has heard God's word "proclaiming liberty to the captive." It now hears his Providence "proclaiming the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God."

We see that our present distress comes from slavery, as the blasting lightning comes out of its black and thunderous cloud. Never was cause and effect more evident. This war is raging over

claims set up by slavery. This is palpably the Slave-holders' Rebellion. The Slave-holding Interest is the only one originating, or now supporting it. Having accumulated a vast monied and political power, and believing itself to have a permanent hold upon the world by its monopoly of cotton-growing, it has risen against the Government, determined upon making it, and all the other Interests of the nation, subject to itself. Who does not acknowledge the truth of this statement? And who does not feel that if slaveholding had been out of the country, we should this day have known no North and no South, but should have been at peace: dwelling together in this good land as one united, prosperous and happy people?

This great distress has not come upon us by the direct will of men. The will of the nation was against it. All national parties have sought to avoid it; have compromised, till compromise ceased to be a virtue; have denounced agitation and enforced peace. They "have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people," not once only but many times, "slightly; crying 'Peace, peace,' when there was no peace." They were saying "Peace and safety" when this sudden destruction came upon us as a whirlwind. They forgot the terrible "MUST BE" in history—that "Day of Vengeance" never to be thrown off the track of guilt save by timely repentance—that Inevitableness of retribution planted of God from eternity in the nature of things, and working steadily on, night and day. In truth, God was not in all their thoughts. But now comes his day of reckoning. The harvest is ripe. We are called to reap what we have sown. The Slave-holding Interest was admitted and fostered as one of the great interests of the nation: our Constitution and laws, our army and navy, our senates and judiciary, have been contributing to its protection and power. It grew and strengthened itself. It has been reaching out and taking deeper and wider hold of the nation at every point. It has been heaping up capital. It has been striking hands and making treaties with the Agricultural Interest, the Commercial, the Manufacturing, the Mechanical, the Professional and Political Interests of the whole land. It has contracted alliances with all influential families. It has imparted its tone and given its laws to society. It has been shaping legislation. So patiently and skillfully has it applied every instrument to

its enlargement, that now the war raging over its arrogant claims is manifestly one of life or death to the nation. While we have been using gentle emollients upon this tumid cancer, in the vain hope of its insensible wasting and happy disappearance, it has been striking its poisonous roots in deeper and out wider; stealthily approaching the seat of life, and infecting the very blood of the nation; and now, when the knife and utter cautery are our only hope and remedy, we are at once afraid to touch and to leave it. We fear to touch it, lest the patient should die of the operation. We fear to leave it, lest the patient should die of its poison.

As this war and distress were not trivial or inexplicable in their causes, so they cannot be in their consequences. These are as solemn and vast as ever hung suspended upon battle. It is vain to conceal from ourselves that some of the most lasting interests of mankind are now at stake. A profound moral undertone, therefore, sounds through this strife. What man now fails to see, that the question is in suspense, whether this nation shall longer exist in the integrity of its expanding greatness; and with its free government, its safe constitutional liberties, in wide and equal enjoyment; in cheap administration, but secure possession?

But why contract the view? Not only the future of our own nation—with the inclosed fate of four millions of enslaved men, and that of their multiplying posterity through coming ages—but the whole continent of Africa rises before us, as deeply concerned in the decision. Nor her children only: but all the weaker races of men. And why stop with them? What is the testimony of these events before us; what the impartial and uniform testimony of History: what that of statesmen, like the great Washington; what, above all, that of the true word of God, concerning the sure ultimate demoralizing and ruin, even of the stronger races and nations, when persistently slave-holding and oppressive?

And this unspeakably solemn issue is to turn upon the further question, *whether the Slave-holding Interest is to triumph* in this whirlwind of destruction; and who will doubt that this depends upon the further question, whether slave-holding itself, with all which it includes of compact wealth and facility of combination, of arrogance and subtlety, of unscrupulous politics and flagitious immorality, of concentrated and jealous power, of aggressive claims

and domineering temper, of the ignorance, brutality, barbarism, corruption and suffering engendered by it; *whether slave-holding itself, with these its inevitable concomitants, is to be reinstated and perpetuated in the nation as heretofore, or is now to receive in itself the sentence of death?*

So then, whether we look at it in its causes or its apparently inevitable consequences, this distress should bring us as a nation, to seek God's mercy with quick and deep penitence, and to follow his will with prompt and firm decision.

But now, what is the spectacle we present before Him and the world? A nation in the throes of intestine convulsion over an evil, long cherished in its bosom; brought into judgment of God over it,—evidently threatened by that judgment with a speedy and terrible destruction for it,—conscience-stricken, and feeling in our heart that here is the cause of our swiftly-approaching ruin; yet hesitating—*hesitating*: people and government HESITATING, timid, irresolute what to do!

What then ought we to do? We are answered, "Support the Government," "Put down this Rebellion," "Restore the Union." We ask, HOW "support," "put down," "restore?" This is the very question, and the answer evades answering.

From the side of mere good common-sense, one might ask whether we can "support the Government" without subduing that which has risen up as the deadly *enemy* of the Government? whether we can "put down this rebellion" without putting down the *cause* of the rebellion? whether we can "restore the Union" without effectually breaking down *that* which has broken up the Union? Can we well and securely re-establish the unity of the nation, without utterly expurgating that element which, from the first until now, has been steadily disuniting it? The answer would seem to be very plain.

But, from the side of the Bible and religious faith, we would ask, whether a nation can be saved when once God has entered into judgment with it; when the "day of his vengeance" has come; except it put away that very sin upon which he has fixed that nation's eyes, and with which he has accusingly loaded its conscience? When that time arrives, will he be satisfied, though we should bemoan ourselves, proclaim prayer and fasting, and forsake our other iniquities?

Our visible hesitancy in this case portends evil to the nation. *Has not the Judge of all the earth hedged up our way, either to destroy slave-holding, or be ourselves brought low among the nations?*

Were it the Manufacturing Interest or the Marine Interest which had thus risen in rebellion determining to break up the nation, who would hesitate a single moment? We should crush it to the earth. And now, when it is a *flagrantly wicked* Interest which has so risen up, shall we be less decided? Now, when we understand that a righteous and avenging God is shutting us up immediately to the old alternative, "If ye repent, ye shall likewise perish;" now when we understand the conscience of the nation is thundering it steadily in our ears, that our national life can be preserved only as our sin of slave-holding shall be put to death, can we prove so tender of it, so infatuated with it, as to hesitate what to do until all doing will be too late!

In some form then, it would seem, this effectual decree must go forth from this nation, and that speedily: *The Slave-holding Interest being in rebellion against the nation and threatening it with destruction, shall no longer have protection under the national laws, but is forever outlawed as a public enemy, and Slave-holding is henceforth excluded wherever the national power extends.*

1. We are being shut up to this great step by the settled and still deepening moral and economical sentiments of the civilized world.

We also must consent to stand at the bar of public opinion. The judgment of the civilized world is solidly and unflinchingly uniting in pronouncing our slave-holding *infamous*; and the nation that shall insist upon supporting it, a public and common enemy to mankind. This opinion will not be reversed. The world has not hastily arrived at it. The Christian religion, the Spirit of God, and the progress of true knowledge have been slowly but irresistibly advancing the Christian world up to this point. Judgments so matured can never be reversed. They are then established forever for the use of mankind. Even Russia, last born of Europe, now lends the voice of her glorious example in emancipating twenty millions of serfs—slaves of the soil—to deepen the already deep abhorrence and spread the well-nigh universal condemnation of this great crime against man and sin against man's Father and Redeemer. What seems now true at the Court of St. James will ere

long be true at the Court of every enlightened and Christian nation—a slave-holding ambassador will be a stench in the nostrils both of government and people.

2. We are being shut up to this great step also by the public sentiment and conscience against slave-holding in our own nation: a degree of moral conviction that will not long endure trifling, or deception, or delay. Such moral convictions, whenever they come to exist, are internal fires—breaking out, if resisted, into volcanic revolutions.

It has long been painfully understood among the people, that the necessities of slave-holding require it to brutify its miserable victim, to repress his mind within certain narrow limits, to corrupt and debase his domestic life, to confuse and demoralize his conscience. It was necessary to his value as a slave, that he should not rise to high intelligence, or purity, or severe integrity. He was to be simply an intelligent beast of burden. Nothing was to be tolerated which should make him less contented or subservient as a slave.

But the nation pacified its conscience, for protecting this system, by hoping the master was made enough better and nobler by it to offset the wrong; that the white man was elevated as the black man was degraded, and thus a balance fairly struck. To-day the nation wakes amidst its terror to find that the brutalizing effect of slave-holding does not end with its victim; that its demoralization of the African, whatever that is, cannot be compared with its effects upon the American owner; and that like all other sin, it has recoiled to inflict its most terrible sting upon the perpetrator. The nation wakes from delusion to find the owner's eye become stony, *his* heart become adamant, the poison of asps to be under *his* lips, *his* house the abode of cruelty, *his* feet swift to shed blood. Fool that the nation was, to suppose the suffering and degradation of one member could be anything else than the suffering and the degradation of all the members with it. What has it not seen in place of that boasted magnanimity, veracity, integrity, bravery, chivalric nobility, generosity, dignity, mental and moral greatness, which were to be the proper fruits of this system of slave-holding civilization and slave-holding religion? What thefts and robberies! What low hate and malignant cunning! What shameless repudiation of public and private debts! What easy violation of most solemn oaths in

the Senate chamber, in the courts, and in private life! What cowardly and universal perjuries! What rapine and cruelty without respect to age or weakness or sex! What applauded murders and railroad massacres!

Amidst its dangers, the nation is getting new light on old questions in practical morals. This vast system was enriching us. Our hands were full of its bribes. It spread a golden veil before our eyes. Then we saw not its inherent and exceeding wrongfulness. The nation may be thankful for its advancing disenchantment. This vast system has now turned to impoverish and destroy. Under these new circumstances, our conscience is coming to discover the hideous character of the whole slave-holding system and its absolute antagonism to the immutable morality and righteousness of God. The old Prophets are allowed their right hearing, as they denounce destroying judgments upon the slave-holding nation. The royal law of Christ's Gospel is felt to be every way outraged by this legalized, but none the less brutal and cruel system of merchandizing the children of Christ and of God. The deep abhorrence which has thus come to exist toward that system, is not likely to be abated as this fratricidal war of its engendering goes on; is not likely to be silent. It will be heard. Already it flashes electric fire through the nation; already it hushes the nation's breath at the thought of hearing the enslaved millions proclaimed free men.

This public sentiment and conscience have been wrought to their present pitch, not by the will of man, but, against the great, and the rich, and the wise, and the mighty, by the Spirit, and the Word, and the Providence of God. They will not down at any man's bidding. They are as a fire shut up in the bones. They foretell a coming judgment of God. They will be more clear and emphatic till the destruction. They are the handwriting on the wall. They realize the coming crisis; that now is the Day of Vengeance of our God. Is that to fall upon the National Capitol or the palaces of slavery? Is the nation or slave-holding now to be destroyed?

3. We are being shut up to this great step by the demands of *public safety*. The nation is not wide enough for liberty and slave-holding to dwell together. We might exist, indeed, as a nation under a Slave-holding Despotism. But, if this nation is to be preserved as a *free* nation, enjoying the liberties of the fathers, and

transmitting them unimpaired, then this Slave-holding Interest—now in rebellion against these liberties, and determined upon the destruction of their safe-guards—must be destroyed. The contest is simple. The Slave-holding Interest, grown powerful and domineering, has pitted itself against the Union. This war is not between North and South. It is *between the Nation* on this side, and *one huge, pampered, monopolizing Interest*—determined on dictating terms, and making everything subject to itself—on that side. The contest is joined on a plain issue. The prize at stake is the life of one party or the other. If the nation will not put away this sin, whose arrogant rebellion has brought it to the verge of destruction, then its own life and liberties, sooner or later, must be the price of that retention. The nation is in the folds of a monster tightening its coils steadily around it. Let the nation understand this death-struggle, as its antagonist does. Then will there be hope for its life.

Even could it gain a present respite from the necessity, by merely crippling and wounding this antagonist, Public Safety demands that it be wounded unto an utter, direct and positive death, lest even a deadly wound should be healed, and all the world again be found wondering after the beast. In common prudence Public Safety would seem to demand that the acknowledged core of so great distress shall not be left to rankle and fester again, and at some future hour, more carefully selected, destroy its life by a virulent outbreak, when the nation shall have been put under more effectual opiates and reduced by severer depletions. Public safety demands something more than a clearing out of the explosive materials and a scattering of the well-laid trains which this Guy-Fawkes' Slave-holding Interest has now, for more than thirty years, been laying under the walls and pillars of our glorious national edifice, in hope to "rend it from turret to foundation stone." *The thing that could plan such ruin must not live to do it again.*

*Public safety* demands that no bitter root of this towering and spreading tree, now dropping its pestilential poison over all the land into the hearts of the people, shall be left to sprout again; that the axe be laid at the root of the tree; that it be consumed, root and branch, in the flame of a great people's righteous indignation, lest they themselves be consumed of God; for our God is a



consuming fire. Let the nation demand that thus our rulers *see to it the Republic receive no detriment*.

But if this be indeed the day of Divine reckoning with the nation because of its slave-holding, *where else can we find safety*, than by putting away this iniquity at once, wholly and forever?

4. We are shut up to this great step, by the fact that *what public safety thus demands, is at length wholly consistent with good faith and public integrity*. **REBELS CANNOT HAVE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.**

Until now, Slavery has been thought protected by Constitutional compacts. The Nation seemed pledged to leave it to the states and to protect them in their desire. While it remained thus sheltered under Constitutional pledges the nation could not bring the wheel over its neck.

But this Slave-holding Interest, in all the chief slave-holding states, *has now repudiated* the Constitution, with its pledges, and protections, and guarantees. By state conventions, by popular votes, by each public and legislative process, that Interest has rebelled against this shielding Constitution. By every method—by legal forms, by organized and consolidated rebellion, by arms, we have seen it throwing off the obligations of that Instrument, and placing itself outside its protections.

Has it now, any just claims to those protections? Can it now demand those pledges in its behalf? Shall we not see that it has no claims? that all former Constitutional trammels in dealing with it are taken off the national hands? That when the Constitution was renounced its every clause was renounced? Shall the nation *now insist* upon executing in its favor those rejected pledges? Is the nation any longer *bound* to protect or to spare that great rebelling Interest which has driven State after State into rebellion, stealing national property, sequestrating, confiscating, plundering and destroying whatever it can reach belonging to loyal citizens?

It is itself in rebellion—is therefore *outlawed*; *out from the protection of law*; and therefore by every principle, rightfully to be exterminated, whenever Public Safety, or even the welfare of the Republic, may seem to require.

So soon as the Slave-holding Interest palpably became a public enemy and dangerous to the nation, it might have been taken from the very horns of the Constitutional altar, and struck through the

heart. The Constitution was made for the nation, and not the nation for the Constitution. No Constitutional provision should stand in the way of saving the nation's life. No matter what the rebel interest that threatens it, or how protected, it should be slain. And now, when we find this great Interest, thus proved a deadly Public Enemy; no longer under Constitutional protection; outlawed by its own act; *to whom*, as being a rebel, *it is treason to give any "aid or comfort;"* and with no claim upon its former immunities; shall we hesitate whether to strike it down forever? When we find that it has itself swept away all its own former Public Rights, and all our alleged Constitutional obligations to it, shall we not see that God has been "hardening its heart," that he might deliver it over into our liberated hands for its destruction? so that we might deal with it freely, untrammelled, unhindered by any former covenants and obligations, simply on the grounds of safety and righteousness?

Let no man condemn this reasoning as fanatical, or as proposing a violation of public faith, until he first answers its argument.

Let it not be asserted, that "public faith requires the nation to spare any Interest, when in rebellion, because of pledges previously made." Rebellion against the nation and the Constitution cancels every right under that Constitution. No rebel has any claims upon a Government which he is in arms to destroy. He has forfeited life itself; much more then his former property-rights. Does he claim protection from pledges made to him while yet a loyal citizen, we answer that the established customs of mankind, the well-settled public law, the plainest dictates of reason, all deny his claims.

Let it not be said, that "the renouncement of the Constitution by this Slave-holding Interest, on its side, in no degree absolves the nation from maintaining that Constitution toward it." *For toward the rebel it is absolved from every pledge.* The Constitution was made to protect the loyal man, not the rebellious. The rebel stands outside its protection, and under its destroying wrath.

Let it not be said, "We entered upon this war, and our rulers have so said, not to interfere with Slave-holding or to destroy Slavery, and are therefore pledged against the plan of this tract." We answer by asking, what nation ever pledged its faith not to interfere with or destroy a rebel man, or a rebel monopoly, caught in the very

act of laying explosions under the National Existence, "to rend it from turret to foundation stone?"

Let it not be said, "You are changing the issue; instead of a war to uphold the nation, as it has been proclaimed, you are making it a war of emancipation." The unfolding character, spirit, aims and sources of power belonging to this rebellion, as the war has progressed, have shown us that this is the only Door of Escape for the nation from present or future disintegration and destruction; that Carthage must be destroyed, or Rome must fall. The Almighty God, who alone presides over the destinies of nations, has set before us this Open Door. "He openeth, and no man shutteth; He shutteth, and no man openeth." What shall the end of these things be? *We shall fall before the rebels until the nation act as He demands at our hands. Defeat will attend our arms, corruption and mismanagement our affairs, destruction brood the nation, the history of Pharaoh and Egypt be ours, unless we yield thus to His will.*

That this Door might be set wide open, He has used the infatuation of the Slave-holding Interest to liberate the nation from those former Constitutional pledges; He has thus made it consistent with strict public integrity and faith, henceforth to withdraw every protection, declare it an outlaw as being a rebel, and forbid its presence wherever the flag of the nation goes in power;—He has made this the only path of public safety, the only deliverance from national disintegration and destruction;—He has prepared the public mind and conscience to demand this result;—He has made the enlightened nations of the earth to abhor this Institution;—He has thus hedged up our way to a single Door of Escape. Can we "conquer our prejudices" and go through it; or shall we refuse, and be diminished, brought low, and be destroyed from among the great and prosperous nations of the Earth?

It is also said that "many slaveholders are still loyal, and therefore we are not to touch the Slaveholding Interest, lest these suffer with the guilty." But individual rights of property must be subordinate to the national life. Their suffering comes from being in bad company. This Great Public Enemy, now in deadly war with the nation and against the Constitution, must be outlawed, and so destroyed. In the last extremity, the nation can know no law but that of self-preservation.

The nation might well deal with these loyal slave-holders in the way of compensated emancipation. But even if it should not, their sacrifices in the loss of their slaves, would not be greater than multitudes of loyal citizens in other States are cheerfully making, and will be required to make, in carrying forward the defence of the nation's life to a finally successful issue. The men who love the nation, and stand ready to die for it, whether they be the owners of slaves or not, will be ready to say "Amen."

Then let the decree go forth from the nation through its authorities; in obedience to the Word, and Spirit, and Providence of God; in compliance with the enlightened sentiment of the civilized world; in response to the moral convictions of our own people; in answer to the emphatic demands of Public Safety, and in clear conformity with a just Public Integrity—the decree that "THIS SLAVE-HOLDING INTEREST, BEING IN REBELLION AGAINST THE NATION, AND THREATENING IT WITH DESTRUCTION, SHALL NO LONGER HAVE PROTECTION UNDER THE NATIONAL LAWS; BUT IS FOREVER OUTLAWED AS A PUBLIC ENEMY; AND SLAVE-HOLDING HENCEFORTH EXCLUDED WHEREVER THE NATIONAL POWER EXTENDS."